

**Advocacy workshop held at Pandhari Lodge, Harare Zimbabwe
4 March – 7 March 2003**

Day 2 – 5 March 2003

Rappoteurs – Makoude/Wahu

Introductions centred around participant expectations; people's expected contributions; learning from others' experiences; how to do advocacy for first times; one person wanted to be the fly on the wall.

What was useful
Generally positive

Comments of what was not useful

English – slow down as it is difficult for non-English speakers to follow

Not challenging each other sufficiently

Important participants focus on the issues and make brief contributions

Poor time keeping

What more information do we need/share experiences of:

- Go deeper into interface between community needs and advocacy
- 3 faces of power
- Basic practices on advocacy
- How do we start community participation and how do we sustain advocacy

Established ground rules:
Collective responsibility.

Focus of the workshop:
Focusing on:

1. how to understand the dynamics of the different political movements and design advocacy strategies appropriate to the context.
2. Constituency building – need to engage people to understand the policy environment to force change and its enforcement
3. A clear understanding of power and how it is played out in different political contexts
4. people's values, attitudes and behaviour

Visioning – activists need political visions to guide their actions.

Every advocacy coalition needs to negotiate a vision. Failure to negotiate a vision or the absence of a negotiated vision causes coalitions to break apart, or to be susceptible to co-optation.

Exercise – Defining Political visions – justice and democracy

Role plays: Family, NGO, Community and Executive/President

Important issues emerging:

Family

Cultural set up economic power does not directly translate into social power (traditional norms)

Untapped power sources which the wife and children failed to recognize and seize because of the socialization process

Power – shared ownership, shared responsibility, shared decision making

NGO –

Dependency on the money source/donor and decisions assumed to emanate from that source therefore perceived sense of powerlessness (Sense that power lies “up there”)

Passing the buck

Undue preoccupation with procedures over people and real needs are neglected – Clouding of the issues with abstracts like the next strategic plan to delay action.

Community Level –

Externally driven agenda

Pretense at participation and consultation

Preponderance of traditional norms which segregate youth and women

Community took charge and refused to be pushed – negotiated time factor

Executive/Parliament

Burden of proof on opposition not the government

Role reversal when the opposition becomes the one with concerns for country's health program and not the elected government

Data can be

- a source of power
- abused,
- delaying tactic/abstraction and people reduced to faceless numbers,
- vital information is not always in public domain,

Having information alone may not suffice – those with power may control the agenda and consequently utilize their position to de-legitimise the issue.

Those in power determine values and structures

Gender does not necessarily determine the decisions arrived at if it is practiced in a particular context – e.g. woman speaker supporting the government in spite of unpopular decision taken.

Questions:

What should we aim to change as activists - the systems that give rise to and support policies or people's values, attitudes and behaviour?

What should our first target be as activists?

Issue not exhaustively resolved.

Faces of Power

Power is the landscape where advocacy is done it is characterized by power plays.

Power is dynamic it may be applied in a monolithic way

Power may be looked at from both negative and positive perspectives

e.g. - Power of Moral authority, power of knowledge, power to organize

3 faces of power

Visible - parliament, congress, rules, the law

Hidden – who gets to set the agenda, public opinion

Invisible – ideas, values, socialisation

Case Studies

Ogiek tribe – Kenya – indigenous people's rights, networking and using existing legislative framework for advocacy

MISA – Zimbabwe chapter – Access to Information and Broadcasting Diversity

Improving Education in Namibia by involving parents in the running of the schools and creating links between government institutions and the parents' associations.

Emerging issues

How should activists respond to externally driven initiatives? E.g. UNICEF's role in Namibian case study

Engagement – How do we engage with different actors? Who sets the agenda – is it the governments or the global institutions whose policy positions we may disagree with? Can we receive funding from people to whom we are diametrically opposed?

Should advocacy organizations wait or should they trigger the agenda?

Community – should the advocacy organizations set the agenda and enlist the community's support or wait for the community to set the agenda?

What sparks an advocacy process?

Program

Recap

Justice and Democracy

Overview of Key Elements of Advocacy and Primary Strategies

Macro-analysis: small groups and plenary discussion

Lunch

Issue analysis and exploration of strategies: small groups and discussion

Tea

What makes an issue strategic? Discussion on choosing an issue

Review and assignment

Day 3 Agenda

Organising

Constituency Building

Citizen Analysis

End by 16:00 to have time to go into town.

Understanding of Justice:

Justices espouses the following principles:

- Equality
- Fairness
- Common Good
- Equity – recognizes differences
- Accountability – consequences for action good and bad – system has rules, fair punishment and reparations – so leaders and people accountable.
- Rights

Activists are working towards justice in economical and social rights. Economic and Social justice includes access to equal opportunities e.g. in debt and trade issues in order to emancipate African countries.

Justice provides people with the opportunity to defend themselves and leads to certain consequences the extreme being the death penalty. The death penalty is a point of debate and may be the result of an unjust society i.e. the inequality in the social structure and in-access to equal opportunity may lead people to commit extreme crimes (living in squalid conditions, lack of access to education etc.).

Advocates are involved in a process of picking at the root causes that create an unjust world in order to achieve the ideal – a world with justice.

Understanding of Democracy

The attributes of democracy include an electoral process which incorporates the three independent and accountable arms of government - judiciary, executive and legislature. Democracy is a tool for development and involves the incorporation of rights in a legal process. Democracy is a system through which people organize institutionally, politically and socially.

What exists in the world today is liberal democracy which allows for the majority winner to become the government and a system in which human and property rights are entrenched. Minorities should have rights and there should be accountability by the representative government to the electorate. The government is meant to safeguard the sovereignty of a state. A liberal democracy minimises conflict in political processes. The tools of democracy include such practices as referendum to ascertain the popular position. Justice cannot occur without the application of the tools of democracy.

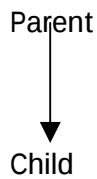
Democratic centralism – tools of democracy challenging means in which things are run

The governors may need capacity building in order to recognise their role and responsibility to the electorate and allows for the enjoyment of all rights. Democracy should be measured by the values of people and the strategies it employs to achieve its aims.

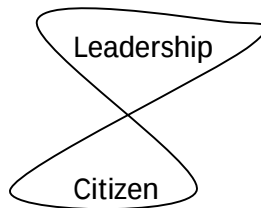
Parent/Child reference is heavily paralleled in the Traditional Leadership Structure –

Unempowered citizens have a notion of governance that is based on an authoritarian model – the benevolent dictator. The biggest challenge of advocates is to empower citizens to understand and accept their responsibilities and roles in a democratic society. A child does not have enough knowledge or understanding to make an informed decision while an adult is able to take responsibility for his/her actions and should be able to hold a government accountable in the representation of his/her interests. The relationship between the leaders and the citizens is symbiotic and mutually accountable. The leaders should be custodians – safeguarding the interests of the citizens.

Authoritarian/ Benevolent Dictator



Mutual Accountability



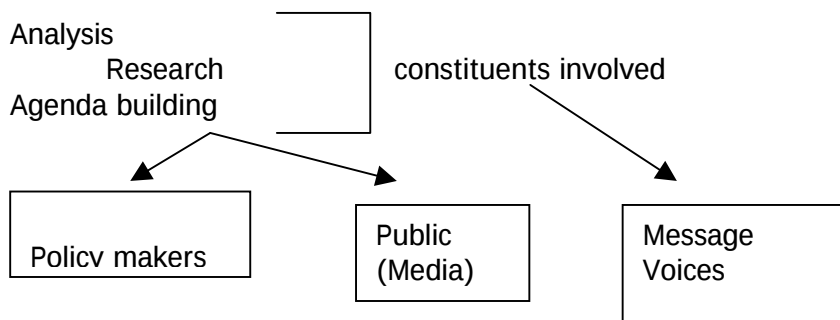
Democracy is not a one size fits all mechanism but incorporates different structures and rules depending on what is desired by the citizens. It has formal rules and structures which translate what is practiced and lived by the people that is the values, rights and responsibilities.

Advocacy is about rules and consciousness of those rules by the citizens. Policy focused advocacy is inadequate. Advocacy should be people centred to change the arrangements, structures, practices and values as well as the rules from passive acceptance by citizens to active participation in the development of those structures. A definition of advocacy is on page 22 chapter one.

Advocacy is ongoing. It is not a two-year development plan. Advocacy is always done in changing contexts and with an understanding of the power relations and real political thinking to see things with a critical consciousness and organize accordingly. Advocacy is a self-sustaining social movement that is not determined by donor funding.

Advocacy is a struggle for justice and democracy. It incorporates a vision and should be part of a broad political agenda in which advocates engage one issue at a time. Advocacy is about anger and emotion.

Diagram of Advocacy and the way in which it functions



Advocates engage with the following:

Policy makers,
public (media),
people most affected in the issue who are involved in the whole process – constituencies and specific communities. Advocacy strategies involve and address the various platforms differently

Advocacy should analyse trends at various level – global, regional, local in order to engage at the various level.

Exercise – Analysis of Trends on a Global/Regional and Country Specific Basis.

Definitions

State – government, elected officials

Market – economic activity - arena where goods and services are exchanged where profit is generated in cash or kind (investments, businesses for profit, trade and commerce and consumption multinationals,

Civil Society, people organize to push specific agendas - NGOs, social movements, Trade unions, CBOs, religious groups, foundations, scholars, research institutes

Community people's livelihood – depends on scope of group working – defined accordingly.

ZIMBABWE	State	Market	Civil Society	Community
Mega-trends (big changes affecting everything)	Redistribution of land dictatorship (Autocracy) Political polarisation (Zanu PF vs. MDC) Political violence Decentralisation	State interference/price control subsidy Emerging of alternative markets - black market Withdrawal of investment from community farms Energy/fuel Crisis Domestic Debt Forex shortages Forex shortage/Sanctions (IMF/WB)	Closing spaces for engagement with the state Weakened labour movement War Veterans	Politisazation of responses to needs rising unemployment Food shortage HIV/AIDS
Name the powerful & their primary interests	President and Zanu PF Control stay in power MDC - want power International Institutions WB/IMF Countries Britain, RSA, Nigeria, Australia, E.U./SaDC - want Stability	Zanu PF Business people - for profit Trans National Corporations - profit IMF/WB - Control/governance Countries - Economic Stability (profits and investment)	Crisis in Zimbabwe Labour (ZCTU) - livelihood National Constitutional Assembly - Rule of laws Churches - new constitution/democracy War Veterans - land	Chiefs/Councillors - patronage Zanu Pf/MDC - power Business - profit Churches/NGOs - welfare World Vision/Red Cross/ Catholic Relief Services/Care International
Name the issues affecting people	Power Resources - distribution Corruption Civil Unrest	Business/Profit Bad economy/inflation Corruption - fuel crisis Shortages - high production costs	Shrinking spaces Fear Avoid risk Political intimidation draconian laws (P.O.S.A.?A.I.P.P.A) undemocratic	Fear HIV/AIDS Energy crisis Hunger Apathy Survival Politically motivated crime
Alternative strategies and thinking	Change of govrenment - peace Democratisation - laws/constitution	Devaluation of Zimbabwe dollar Stabilisation of exports Attract new investors	Pro-active/Citizen awareness and participation in the democratic process	Tolerance Peace Participation Self Reliance
Conflicts and Contradictions	different interests/contradictions between Zanu Pf and MDC Land redistribution who gains?	property rights to stay or leave utilisation of redistribution of farms	Whose agenda? Taking sides - to engage or not	Different views Political choices whom to support Basic needs

REGIONAL	State	Market	Civil Society	Community
Mega-trends (big changes affecting everything)	HIV/AIDS Corruption Privatization land conflict NEPAD/PRSP Increasing inequality between the haves and have nots Crime and insecurity	HIV/AIDS Corruption privaatization land conflict Increasing inequality between the haves and have nots Crime and insecurity	HIV/AIDS Corruption land conflict Increasing inequality between the haves and have nots Crime and insecurity	HIV/AIDS Increasing impoverishment - at community level Corruption land conflict Increasing inequality between the haves and have nots Crime and insecurity
Name the powerful & their primary interests	Presidency - remain in power ruling parties - being in charge of resources Cabinet - remaining in power - party interests Military - being in power and being in charge of resources Donors - protecting their national community interest Regional Bodies - collective interests and unity	International Finance Corporations/International Finance Institutions Trans-National Corporations/Multi-National Corporations Local business elites	Donors - co-option; perpetuation of national interest Media - commercial information Trade unions - protect work interests Religious Institutions - to defend certain values and morals	Chiefs - power; resources Religious Institutions - values and morals NGOs - empowerment Local Authorities/Community Councils - power; resources Ruling parties - power; resources Business elites - profit CBOs - empowerment
Name the issues affecting people				Access to health care Access to quality education Food Security unemployment Loss of livelihoods through dispossession Equitable Land distribution Human Rights
Alternative strategies and thinking	Campaigns Democratisation Regional integration and African Union	Raising awareness mobilisation and organisation Campaigns	Raising awareness mobilisation and organisation Campaigns Networking (Regional Networking)	Raising awareness mobilisation and organisation Campaigns Women empowerment/feminism
Conflicts and Contradictions				

GLOBAL	State	Market	Civil Society	Community
Mega-trends (big changes affecting everything)	Downsizing - state loses control (e.g. privatization) Formation of power blocks - EU, G8, Paris Club, WTO etc. hegemony for global domination - US/UK - Iraq Over privileging/emphasis of the economic role of state over other interests (e.g. social) Fundamentalism/religious/political	Dominance of TNCs IT - Bill Gates Movement of Capital	Rise of GSM Subcontracting CS	Commercialization of culture Community needs as goods for sale Social decay - consumption culture
Name the powerful & their primary interests	Trans-national corporations, G8, EU Conquest for markets Exploitation Dominance/control power	WTO, TNCs, NAFTA, IFIS, CNN, BBC	Foundations, donors, NGOs	TNCs, EU, Fundamentalists
Name the issues affecting people	Increased power neglect of social sector Xenophobia - tension External control of development policies Underdevelopment	Inflation Shortage of basic commodities Higher unemployment De-industrialization dominance over local markets trade gaps	Shifting of focus from own priorities Lack of sustainability Increased poverty Process over people	Increased poverty Identity Crisis Lack of sustainability Food Insecurity
Alternative strategies and thinking	Homegrown solutions	Economy based on domestic market Mobilization of local resources New development paradigms	Mobilization of local resources/sustainability Strengthening sub-regional Integration	Resistance New development alternatives serving interests of the people
Conflicts and Contradictions	Double standards Disharmony among blocks	Slower growth Recession Selective Strategies Misinformation	Discourse capture Double Standards rise of corporate social responsibility Language and game Need led versus resource led	Globalization vs. marginalization of the poor Survival vs. self worth

Rating of exercise in terms of interesting/useful (1 (not) – 5 (useful))

Several 5s

4s – Good but needed to share experiences of more than one country for the country specific analysis.

In the regional analysis time was an element and people did not want to talk about feminism.

Regional – dilemma regarding regional issues which may only affect a certain area of the region.

3s

Country specific Zimbabwe: not a learning experience and wanted to delve further into the root issues of land reform e.g. war veterans

Operate intuitively – broader analysis, Mapping helps – interesting – reality checking

Analysis then plan action and change analysis because of the learning process

Discussion Points:

Country Specific - Zimbabwe

There are two types of war veterans, those clearly aligned to ruling party and the Zimbabwe Liberators Platform. Opened up the discussion to partisanship in civil society is it necessarily a bad thing? It depends on the political agenda being pushed and the power relations.

There is a need for change but there is limited/no opportunity in the short term.

Polarization and advocacy - in Zimbabwe there is intense polarization you are either for the ruling party or you are opposition. In a closed environment cannot take a position in the middle.

Question: What is the position of religious groups? Involved and engaged.

Judiciary/Courts – President has withdrawn non-partisan judges and as there is no independent judiciary it is difficult to create the space required to influence ruling party's agenda.

Market – there is a zero-sum gain in following the economic policies proposed by donors - i.e. globalisation/privatisation. They deliver in the short term e.g. Uganda - open market - however in the long-term deficits will increase, few will benefit and large capital outflow.

Alternatives: civil society need to mobilise resources, engage citizens and devise new home-grown economic policy plans.

Political polarization – alternative is to create change from within existing parties if there is no hope of creating space externally.

Question: What depth should advocates go to when making this analysis and why?

Community seems to be very passive to the extent that when issues are raised they are actually brushed aside. There is a need for advocates to look more critically at link between national issues and community involvement/engagement.

Question: Should Zimbabwe devalue - currently working with a tiered system official rate is Z\$55 and Z\$800 for export - is this enough? Will it solve problems?

Devaluation nails the poor people in the short term/long term and does not add value. Debate for another fora.

Question: Zimbabweans seem tired and do not seem to be engaging why?

Battle fatigue concentrating on day to day living.

Elections were the strategy which failed and Zimbabweans are trying to regroup.

Kenya was in the same position in 1992 and 1997 elections - they had fragmented opposition however the battle continued. Civil society should not give up they should regroup and map out strategies and continually keep searching in order to keep giving people hope.

To begin to shift thinking from short term actions to long term organizing is the challenge. There needs to be an extraordinary investment in building a grassroots network. Map out the country to and start organizing around basic needs. Utilize the church for moral positioning while looking for gaps at the top. Currently engaging at the top is futile and seen as failure because of the failed elections. Work through the system and engage community and make entry at that level.

Discussion on Regional Group

Potential power is embodied in OAU/ECOWAS.

Regional integration is important.

Other Trends

1. Resource depletion
2. Terrorism - escalation of violence and security issues. Terrorism is the counter to globalisation and the strategy is being shaped by the language and policy of US government. US National security strategy lays out terrorism. It is the responsibility and right of the sovereign country to respond and African countries must be careful as the US is utilising it as part of its military strategy focussing on Kenya and Nigeria - offer is for military aid, territory and troop training. Terrorism may be used by dictators to recast age old conflicts/keep dictators in power.
3. Fundamentalism in Nigeria – Sharia Law
4. Escalation of violence – security – response to terrorism
5. Debt and dependency – states putting themselves up for sale (prostitution) trading of favours; merchandising continent to highest bidder and investing in huge militarism and creating fiefdoms where they operate like the mafia.

Positive Trends

1. Conflict Resolution – trend towards commitment to resolving Africa's internal conflicts regionally
2. New brotherhood – Africans will defend each other – (SADC code)
3. Exciting examples of waves of democratisation – Kenya, Zambia, Mozambique - people taking initiative. Democracy is never a finished product but the positive wave should be encouraged.

Alternative Strategies –

1. Regional networks – Africa has weakened/struggling states and weakened regional and pan-African structures. Need to change parameters in certain regional fora.
2. Define what we think are democracies and positive change processes
3. Feminism – so taboo and so filled with negativity. Positive that African women are taking up the term again as it reflects international women's movements. Reclaiming and re-politicising the name and the social movement and need to educate others.

Power and powerlessness should be understood in terms of exclusion and subordination. Gender analysis can help to define terms.

Global Group

At global level things are so interlinked that it is difficult to speak of one without the other. The diversity of communities makes it difficult to bunch issues together, they have to be contextualised.

Certain double standards that African governments manifest e.g. free trade for goods and services versus stringent immigration laws making it difficult for people to travel.

African governments have been sacrificing self-worth to get bread and butter as a result of globalisation.

Trends

1. Downsizing vs. rightsizing – There is a fight to have fewer ministries but the system remains cumbersome. Factor of government relinquishing control and giving space to other forces such as trans/multi-nationals. This is a deliberate and well-planned strategy/policy which began with Reaganomics. The government is cast in the light of being bloated, weak or problematic and is thus jumping on bandwagon of privatisation.
2. Decentralisation – plan to weaken central governments – helps to integrate the privatisation process. Private/Public partnerships weaken government role. Advocates need to watch out for these trends as there is a legislative process currently taking place US congress that would like to create eligibility requirements for participating governments in the privatisation process. The governments will be placed in a position where they barter certain things e.g. electrical/water systems in order to qualify.
Weakening global governance structure i.e. the UN. The US is doing this by bypassing and completely withdrawing power from several UN conventions and playing with the national
3. security council.
4. Global economic structures are strengthening
5. Entertainment and News is business. Involved in strategic misinformation e.g. (debate about terrorism – selective use of information to portray the version required by US). It is a rally mechanism done in view of consolidating media power.
6. Media moguls – serving the business interests of the media kings.
7. Commercialisation and Information Systems – the global reach of the media is overwhelming. It has produced exciting and inspiring things e.g. simultaneous demonstrations in 17 countries worldwide. The internet makes it possible to organize effectively.
8. HIV/AIDS has to be linked with the privatisation of health care systems – linking the local issue with the global trend.

African business is not viewed as an issue on the global agenda - demeaning as it demonstrates that Africa is not an economic player.

Investment/Privatisation -Africa does not have capacity to negotiate and therefore relies on state facilitation of the investment/privatisation issues. Civil society needs to get involved so that the investment is seen as a joint effort with both parties (citizens and investors) sharing in the dividends. Africans need to quantify their land and natural resources in response to the financial capital supplied by the investors.

Television, infrastructure, water and other systems need to be improved and Africa needs to articulate its own policies regarding these issues. Need alternative sources of news and media for Africa.

Way Forward

Focus on the issue and strategize around the power structures.